

Mythologies of the Ancient World

EDITED AND
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

Samuel Noah Kramer

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

Rudolf Anthes	Hans G. Güterbock
Derk Bodde	Michael H. Jameson
W. Norman Brown	Samuel Noah Kramer
M. J. Dresden	Miguel León-Portilla
Cyrus H. Gordon	E. Dale Saunders



ANCHOR BOOKS
DOUBLEDAY

NEW YORK LONDON TORONTO SYDNEY AUCKLAND

AN ANCHOR BOOK

PUBLISHED BY DOUBLEDAY

a division of Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10103

ANCHOR BOOKS, DOUBLEDAY, and the portrayal of an anchor
are trademarks of Doubleday, a division of Bantam Doubleday
Dell Publishing Group, Inc.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Excerpts from *And Now All This* by W. C. Sellar and R. J. Yeatman, published in the United States by E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., are reprinted by permission of Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Excerpts from *Agamemnon* from *Complete Greek Tragedies*, translated by Richmond Lattimore, and from *The Iliad*, translated by Richmond Lattimore, copyright 1951 by The University of Chicago, are included by permission of The University of Chicago Press.

Excerpts from Hesiod: *The Works and Days*; *Theogony*; *The Shield of Herakles*, translated by Richmond Lattimore and published in 1959 by The University of Michigan Press, are reprinted by permission of The University of Michigan Press.

Excerpts from *Essays and Addresses* by Gilbert Murray, published in the United States by Houghton Mifflin Company under the title *Tradition and Progress*, are reprinted by permission of George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Mythologies of the Ancient World, an Anchor Original, is also available in a hard-bound edition from Quadrangle Books, Inc., 119 West Lake Street, Chicago, Illinois.

*The illustration on page 16 is reproduced by kind permission
of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo.*

ISBN 0-385-09567-8

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 60-13538

Copyright © 1961 by Doubleday,
a division of Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FIRST ANCHOR BOOKS EDITION: 1961

DC

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION, by Samuel Noah Kramer	7
MYTHOLOGY IN ANCIENT EGYPT, by Rudolf Anthes	15
MYTHOLOGY OF SUMER AND AKKAD, by Samuel Noah Kramer	93
HITTITE MYTHOLOGY, by Hans G. Güterbock	139
CANAANITE MYTHOLOGY, by Cyrus H. Gordon	181
MYTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT GREECE, by Michael H. Jameson	219
MYTHOLOGY OF INDIA, by W. Norman Brown	277
MYTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT IRAN, by M. J. Dresden	331
MYTHS OF ANCIENT CHINA, by Derk Bodde	367
JAPANESE MYTHOLOGY, by E. Dale Saunders	409
MYTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT MEXICO, by Miguel León-Portilla	443
INDEX	473

Hittite Mythology

BY HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

Speaking of Hittite mythology we have to keep in mind that the Hittite Empire, as it spread over all of Anatolia and parts of Syria and north Mesopotamia, included regions of different background, culturally as well as ethnically and linguistically. Soon after the Hittite language had been deciphered in 1915, it was noticed that among the cuneiform tablets of the Hittite capital there were texts in several other languages beside Hittite. Apart from Sumerian and Akkadian, the languages of higher learning, a number of local languages could be identified. As the number of texts and, with it, our knowledge of these languages increased, it became apparent that there existed mythical tales in all languages. For a better understanding of the myths of ancient Anatolia it will therefore be best to start with a brief survey of the various languages, so as to enable us to attribute the individual myths to the different components of Hittite civilization.

The oldest population of the central part of the Anatolian plateau whose language is known are the Hattians. Their language does not belong to any of the better-known linguistic groups but rather stands by itself, with a vague, though possible, relation to some of the idioms spoken in recent times in the Caucasus. The Hittites called this language

Copyright © 1961 by Hans G. Güterbock. This is an adaptation of a chapter in the author's forthcoming book *The Art and Literature of the Hittites* to be published by The University of Chicago Press.

hattili, that is, the language of the country of Hatti. While taking over the name of that country for their own kingdom, the Hittites reserved the term *hattili* for the language of the old inhabitants in contrast to their own Indo-European language, which they called *nesili* after the town of Nesa, the center of their own first settlement. Since moderns had already used the name "Hittite" for the official *nesili* language, they had to invent another term for *hattili*, namely, "Hattic." We thus say "Hattic" for the non-Indo-European *hattili* language, but Hittite or sometimes, for clarity's sake, "Nesian" for the Indo-European *nesili* language, which was the official language of the kingdom and, as such, most productive in literature.

There are two more Indo-European languages in Anatolia beside Hittite: Luwian and Palaic. Palaic was spoken in the north (according to the most likely localization proposed, in Paphlagonia, northwest of Hatti); like Hittite, it was superimposed on a Hattic substrate. Luwian, on the other hand, was spoken in the south: probably in the southwest and certainly in the Cilician plain. We have to assume that the Luwians, too, superseded a population that spoke another language, but this substrate still remains unknown and unnamed. The language written with the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs is nothing else but a Luwian dialect. But since no mythological material has so far been found in hieroglyphic inscriptions—which, for the most part, are of votive character—we may safely leave hieroglyphic Luwian out of our consideration.

There finally is the non-Indo-European Hurrian language of north Mesopotamia and north Syria. The Hurrian element came to play an important part in Hittite civilization, especially in the New Kingdom or Empire period (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.), during which probably the dynasty and certainly many scribes were of Hurrian background. Kizzuwatna, the region in southeastern Anatolia including the Cilician plain, was the one Hittite province in which Hurrian scribal schools must have flourished most prominently. Since, as we have seen, Luwian was also spoken in Cilicia, we find

a certain amount of linguistic mixture in that region, as evidenced by Hurrian loanwords in Luwian and by Luwian loanwords in Hittite texts dealing with Hurrian myths.

Our task, then, will be to ascribe, as far as possible, the individual myths to these various ethno-linguistic groups: Hattic, Nesian (Hittite), Palaic, Luwian, and Hurrian. In so doing we immediately make an observation concerning the literary form in which mythological tales have been handed down: only the myths of foreign origin were written as real literary compositions—we may call them epics—whereas those of local Anatolian origin were committed to writing only in connection with rituals. By foreign origin in this context we mean mainly Hurrian; beside it, Babylonian, for which it can be shown that Hurrian served as intermediary, and Canaanite, for which we can only assume that the way of borrowing went from Syria via Cilicia to the Hittite capital. By local Anatolian we mean the material preserved in Hattic, Palaic, and Luwian, and those Hittite myths whose protagonists are local, chiefly Hattic, deities.

In Hattic we have, apart from brief and, as yet, hardly intelligible allusions to mythological concepts, only one little story: "The Moon Who Fell from Heaven."¹ Although this tale is contained in a bilingual text where the Hattic original is provided with a Hittite translation, the story itself is far from clear. We can only make out that the moon fell down from heaven and that various deities, among them the Storm-god, saw it and sent messengers after it. From the ritual that precedes and follows the tale we learn that it was told "when the Storm-god thunders" and that the Storm-god with his helpers, the clouds, thunders, and rains, received offerings; so the story seems to have been told *in maiorem gloriam* of the Storm-god, who must have played a major part in it.

Much more important is the myth of "The God Who Disappeared." The best-preserved versions of this myth are in Hittite, but the locale as well as the *dramatis personae* clearly point to a Hattic background. There are many versions of this myth. Not only do we find different deities in the

role of the Vanished God, but even the versions dealing with one and the same god differ in detail. This textual instability is certainly the result of the non-literary character of the texts: all versions were written down in connection with a ritual. Contrary to what might be expected on the analogy of—real or alleged—myths of “dying gods” of other peoples,² this ritual has nothing to do with seasonal patterns but rather serves to reconcile the vanished deity with a certain individual, who may be a queen or a private person, and to secure well-being, probably also offspring, for that person and his or her household. Nor does the god die in these Hittite tales; he rather goes into hiding, as we shall see.

In the best-known version of this myth the god who disappears is Telipinu, and the story is therefore mostly referred to as the Telipinu Myth. The name of the god is Hattic. Telipinu is a son of the great Storm-god, and he himself bears many traits of a Storm-god.³ There is also a version in which the vanished god is simply called Storm-god; since this version has never been translated in full, and since it contains an episode not included in the Telipinu version, it may be good to give a translation of it here.⁴ (Brackets indicate restorations and parentheses, additions made for the sake of idiom or clarity; roman type indicates uncertainty of translation or restoration.)

The beginning of the story, which must have contained a description of the god's anger and probably a statement of its cause, is so fragmentary that it cannot be understood. In another version of the Storm-god myth⁵ it is said that the god “was angry at (queen) Ashmunikal” and that in his rage “he put his right shoe on his left foot . . . and left.” This is immediately followed by the description of the results of the Storm-god's leaving. At this point our main version of the Storm-god myth becomes available, in part restored from the Telipinu version.

*Fog seized the windows, smoke seized the house:
In the fireplace the logs were “oppressed” (smouldering).*

*On the pedestal the gods were "oppressed,"
in the fold the sheep were "oppressed,"
in the corral the cows were "oppressed":
The ewe refused its lamb, the cow refused its calf.*

*. . . . (two and one-half fragmentary lines not paralleled by
the Telipinu version)*

*Barley and emmer-wheat no longer grow,
cattle, sheep and humans no longer become pregnant,
and even those who are pregnant do not give birth.*

*The mountains dried up, the trees dried up
(so that) shoots did not come (forth).*

The meadows dried up, the springs dried up.

*[The great Sun]-god prepared a feast and invited the
thousand gods.*

*They ate but could not satisfy their hunger,
they drank but could not satisfy their thirst.*

[The Father of the Storm-god said [to the gods]:

"My son [is not there; he became enraged]

[and carried away] growth,

he carried away everything good!"

*The great gods and the small gods set out to search for
the Storm-god.*

The Sun-god sent out the swift Eagle (saying):

"Go, search the high mountains,

search the deep valleys,

search the darkblue waves!"

The Eagle went but did not find him.

The Eagle swiftly brought the Sun-god news:

"The high mountains I searched,

the deep valleys I searched,

the darkblue waves I searched,

but I did not find him, the Storm-god of Heaven!"

*The Storm-god's Father went to his (i.e., the Storm-
god's) Grandfather and said to him:*

*"Who sinned (so that) the seed perished and everything
dried up?"*

The Grandfather said:

"No one sinned, but you alone sinned!"

The Storm-god's Father replied:

"In no way did I sin!"

But the Grandfather said:

"This matter I shall investigate,

and (if I find you guilty) I shall kill you!

Now go, search for the Storm-god!"

The Storm-god's Father went to Hannahanna of the Gulsas (the Mother-goddess).

Hannahanna of the Gulsas said to the Storm-god's Father:

"Why did you come?"

The Storm-god's Father said:

"The Storm-god became enraged,

(so) everything dried up and the seed perished.

Now my father says to me:

'It is your fault!

I shall investigate the matter and kill you!'

Now, how shall I proceed? What has happened?"

Hannahanna replied:

"Fear not!

If it is your fault I shall put it straight,

and if it is not your fault I shall (also) put it straight.

Go, search for the Storm-god

(while) his Grandfather has not yet heard (about it)!"

The Storm-god's Father said:

"Where shall I go and search?"

Hannahanna replied:

"I shall hand him over to you.

Go, bring (me) [the Bee]!

I myself shall instruct it,

and it will search for [the Storm-god]."

The Storm-god's Father said t[o Hannahanna]:

*"The great gods and the small gods searched for him
and did not find him;*

shall now this Bee go and search for him?

Its wings are weak, and it is weak itself:

They will.!"

Hannahanna replied:

"[.] not [.]"

In this version the continuation is lost. Since the individual versions differ in detail, it is better to refrain from a verbal restoration taken from other versions. It seems likely, however, that Hannahanna, in the speech that originally followed, dispelled the misgivings expressed by the Storm-god's Father about the Bee's fitness and, after the Bee had been brought into her presence, gave it instructions for the search. In a small fragment of which it is not clear whether it belongs to this particular version but which at least deals with the Storm-god,⁶ parts of these instructions and of the ensuing search are preserved, and in this context "a grove at the town of Lihzina" is mentioned, that is, the god's hiding place where the Bee found him.

The corresponding section of the Telipinu version tells the story roughly as follows: Following Hannahanna's instructions, the Bee searches everywhere until it finds the god sleeping in a grove at Lihzina. (Note that this town, although mentioned as the hiding place of both Telipinu and the Storm-god in the two versions of our myth, is known from ritual texts as a cult center of the Storm-god only.) The Bee stings the god, thus awakening him. As a result his anger only increases; he now brings destruction over man and beast and the whole land. The gods, left in consternation, have recourse to magic.

In our Storm-god version the corresponding parts are lost. What is left of the second column of the tablet is very fragmentary and without parallel. It completely differs from the part of the Telipinu version just outlined, but we cannot tell yet whether we have here a different story or merely an addition.

The entreaty and ritual aimed at bringing the vanished god back follow the same patterns in all versions, though with variations in detail; we may safely leave them aside.⁷ The ritual is followed by the narrative of the god's return:

*The Storm-god returned to his house and took account
of his land.*

The fog left the window, the smoke left the house.

*[On the pedestal the gods] were set straight,
 in the fireplace the logs were set straight,
 [in the fold] the sheep were set straight,
 in the corral the cows were set straight.
 [The mother] guided [her child],
 the ewe guided her lamb,
 the cow [guided her calf],
 [the Storm-god] guided [the king and queen]
 and took account of them for life and well-being [to the end
 of days].*

As said before, various deities are cast in the role of the Vanished God. Telipinu and the Storm-god are the most prominent and happen to be those dealt with in the best-preserved texts. Similar myths about other deities are less intelligible, in part because of their bad state of preservation, in part because of philological difficulties. A story in which the Sun-god disappears and "Rigor" or "Paralysis" seizes all nature⁸ belongs in the latter category. Some fragmentary texts contain a story similar to the Telipinu myth but dealing with Anzili and Zukki, deities of unknown linguistic background.⁹ In a story that differs greatly in detail we find the Bee sent out to search for Inara, who is called the daughter of the Storm-god.¹⁰ The motif of the fury of the deity, but without the description of the disappearance and its consequences, is found in texts dealing with the Storm-god of the town of Kuliwisna¹¹ and with the Mother-goddess, Hannahanna.¹² The rituals performed to appease these deities are very similar to, in part even identical with, those connected with the Telipinu and Storm-god myths. Whether these texts never had the mythological tale or whether it is only lost in the existing fragments remains an open question.

What matters is that in the texts mentioned so far the mythological tales are closely connected with ritual. The texts themselves were handbooks to be used whenever the occasion arose for the performance of the magic rites described in them. Thus they fall into a large group of magic rituals containing shorter or longer mythological tales. To mention only

two examples for many: a ritual against paralysis contains the story of how nature was "bound," how the news reached Kamrusepa, the goddess of magic, and how she "loosened" everything that was "bound."¹³ In a ritual for the erection of a new palace, one of many mythological passages reads as follows:¹⁴

When the king enters the house (the new palace), the Throne calls the Eagle: "Come! I send you to the sea. But when you go (there), look in the green forest (and see) who is sitting (there)!"

The Eagle replies: "I looked! Istustaya and Papaya, the primeval Netherworld goddesses, are sitting there bowing down."

The Throne answers: "And what are they doing?" The Eagle replies: "(One) holds a spindle, they (both) hold filled mirrors. And they are spinning the king's years. And of the years there is no limit or counting!"

The deified Throne is a Hattic goddess; Istustaya and Papaya are Hattic deities, too, who are elsewhere mentioned together with other Netherworld deities, the most prominent of whom is the Sun-goddess of the Earth. Here we get a glimpse of the Anatolian concepts of the Netherworld, which include goddesses spinning the thread of life like the Parcae. This similarity should, however, not be taken as evidence for Indo-European origin, since the goddesses are Hattic. Incidentally, the "filled mirrors" have been explained as flat pans filled with water that makes a reflection. The whole passage is typical of the device of using a brief mythological tale in a ritual: it is, of course, told in order to secure long life for the owner of the new palace; the tale itself has magic power here as in the other rituals.

Returning to the myth of the Vanished God, we saw that of the deities cast in that role, Telipinu has a Hattic name; Inara, too, is connected with the Hattic element, whereas "Storm-god" and "Sun-god" are universal great gods whose names are written with word signs. These gods existed also in the Hattic pantheon, where their names, Taru and Estan,

respectively, are known, and there is nothing against the assumption that our stories deal with the Hattic Taru and Estan. Yet the texts are in Hittite, **which** means that the speakers of Indo-European Hittite **adopted** the myths together with the gods of their predecessors.

Among the Indo-European languages of Asia Minor there is one other that superseded a Hattic substrate: Palaic. One of the few Palaic texts known so far contains a mythological tale followed by a kind of hymn.¹⁵ Although we still understand very little of the language we can see that here the tale contains the motif of the feast at which the gods "eat but cannot satisfy their hunger, drink but cannot satisfy their thirst." The town of Lihzina is also mentioned here. The hymnic part of the text contains the name of the god Zaparwa, the main god of the Palaians, who, as has been proposed, may well be a Storm-god. The two features mentioned remind us of the myth of the Vanished God, but the rest of the story, as far as it can be made out, seems to run differently.¹⁶ Although we cannot, therefore, claim that the Palaic myth deals with Zaparwa as Vanished God, it is significant that it shares some motifs with the Hittite tales on that theme; these common motifs, at least, if not the whole stories, should then go back to the common Hattic substrate.

Luwian texts are almost exclusively of the magic type, either short spells or longer incantations inserted in ritual texts. Here again a myth is told in such a text.¹⁷ Although very little of the story can as yet be understood, it seems to contain the motif of a feast prepared by the Sun-god, but in a completely different setting: this feast is closely linked with the cause of the illness which the ritual is intended to heal.

So far we have dealt with mythological tales written down in connection with magic rituals. There are, however, also tales connected with the cult. The best known of these is the myth of the fight between the Storm-god and the Dragon; *illuyanka*, thus far taken as proper name of the monster, is nothing but the common noun meaning "dragon" or "serpent." The text states expressly that the story was recited at the

purulli festival of the Storm-god, one of the great yearly cult ceremonies.¹⁸

Thus speaks Kella, [the priest] of the Storm-god of Nerik:

"(These are) the words of the purulli of the Storm-god of Heaven:

When they speak as follows:

*'Let the land thrive and prosper
and let the land be protected!
and if it, then, thrives and prospers,
then they perform the purulli festival.'*

The story itself, whose first version follows immediately, is well known and need not be repeated here in full. In a first round the Storm-god is defeated by the Dragon, so he asks the other gods for help. The goddess Inara helps him by preparing a feast and securing the assistance of a mortal man whom she promises her love. When the Dragon is drunk from the drinks offered him by Inara, the mortal helper binds him, whereupon the Storm-god returns and kills the Dragon. The story then goes on to tell the fate of the man who enjoyed the love of the goddess: He is told not to look out of the window, of course does so as soon as the goddess has left, longs for his family and, when he expresses the wish to go home, is punished in some way. The text is broken here, but we may assume that he was killed.

Unfortunately the break in the tablet makes it almost impossible to understand the passage immediately following the end of this version. In it the king and "the first *purulli*" are mentioned. The next paragraph reads:

*Mount Zaliyanu is the first of all!
When it has apportioned rains to Nerik,
the herald brings offering bread from Nerik.
Mount Zaliyanu asked for rain:
he brings [.] bread to it.*

Thereafter the tablet is broken again. Obscure as this passage may be, it somehow links the story with the important cult

city of Nerik (whose priest was mentioned as author of the text in the introduction) and mentions the rain-giving, deified mountain, Zaliyanu, which is near that town.

Where the text becomes available after the gap we find the second version of the Dragon fight. In it, too, the Dragon at first defeats the Storm-god. Here he robs him of his heart and his eyes. The Storm-god then marries a mortal maid, daughter of a poor man, and has a son from her. When the latter grows up he wants to marry the daughter of the Dragon. His father instructs him to ask for the stolen heart and eyes when entering the house of the bride (the legal background is the Hittite custom that a wealthy father can get a husband for his daughter by paying the so-called bride price to the young man; the statement in the story that the lad's mother was poor thus gains perspective). The demand is met, the Storm-god regains his former stature and can engage in a new battle which, we are told, is to take place "by the sea again" (so it seems the first fight was by the sea as well; that passage is damaged). By marrying the Dragon's daughter, however, the son of the Storm-god has taken on an obligation of loyalty to his father-in-law; he therefore takes the latter's side and asks his own father not to spare him; whereupon "the Storm-god killed both the Dragon and his own son."

At the end of this second—and more sophisticated—version there is another gap, after which there follows a very difficult text, of which only one detail is of interest here: Zaliyanu, mentioned earlier in the text as a mountain, is here said to be the wife of Zaskhapuna. Zaskhapuna was once believed to be the Hittite name of the Storm-god, and I personally still consider this a possibility; at least it can be *one* name of the god beside others. According to its form it is a Hattic name. Our text calls Zaskhapuna "the greatest of all gods," a distinction certainly befitting a Storm-god more than any other deity.

We saw that the Dragon Fight Myth is linked to the city of Nerik by the office of its author and in the section following the first version. The Storm-god of Nerik himself,

however, is not mentioned in the text. This young Storm-god, who was a son of the great Storm-god, had an important cult. There is a ritual aimed at bringing him back to Nerik from other towns to which he had gone.¹⁹ This may be a mythological expression for the well-known historical fact that Nerik was for a time taken away from the Hittites by the Gasga people of the north but later regained. The text, however, explains the god's absence by his anger—a familiar motif. The god is called back to Nerik from wherever he may be. One passage (rev. 11–22) has a mythological flavor; it deals with the river Marassanta, the Halys of the ancients, now the Red River of Turkey:

You, o Marassanta, are close to the heart of the Storm-god of Nerik.

*The Marassanta formerly flowed astray,
but the Storm-god turned it and made it flow toward the sun
and (thus) made it flow near Nerik.*

The Storm-god said to the Marassanta river:

*"If some one infuriates the Storm-god of Nerik
(so that) he walks away from Nerik and the couch,
then you, o Marassanta, don't let him go to another river (or)
another spring!"*

*The Storm-god of Heaven said to the Marassanta river:
"(This) shall be (a matter of) an oath for you:
do not alter your course!"*

The Marassanta did not alter its course.

You, o gods, did it!

*Now let the river Nakkiliata call the Storm-god of Nerik.
From under the sea (and) the [waves],
from under the nine river-beds let it bring him back!*

Other parts of this rather difficult text are prayer-like invocations directed to the Storm-god of Nerik himself, among other things asking him to "bring rain down from heaven" (rev. 60). The passage translated above, however, stands out as a rare Hittite example of an etiological myth: it was the great Storm-god of Heaven himself who diverted the course

of the largest river of Central Anatolia so as to make it flow near the cult center of his son.

What we have surveyed so far does not cover all myths of Central Anatolia but may suffice to give a general picture of their character. Turning now to the myths of foreign origin, we may note in passing that the Hittites knew the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. The Akkadian version was treated in the scribal schools as is witnessed by a fragment of it found at Boghazköy. Beside it there are fragments of a Hurrian and of a Hittite version. The latter shows that the Hittites adapted the epic to their own sphere of interest by shortening those parts that dealt specifically with Uruk, the Sumerian home town of the hero.²⁰ And from the former, that is, from the very existence of a Hurrian version, we may gather that the Hittites became acquainted with the epic through the Hurrians; the same is true, as we shall see, of other Babylonian mythological concepts.

As stated at the outset, there is a whole epic literature in Hittite that deals with Hurrian and Canaanite deities or with human heroes bearing Hurrian names. In contrast to the Anatolian myths, which we found connected with rituals, these tales of foreign background are real literary compositions often called "songs" in the sense of "epics." Many of them can only be mentioned here very briefly. Among them there is, first, the epic of the hero Gurparanzakh. The name of the hero is Hurrian; it is derived from Aranzakh, the Hurrian name of the river Tigris, and this river, personified, plays a part in the story. The setting is, however, in Akkad, the famous north-Babylonian city; so this is another example of a Babylonian theme transmitted to the Hittites by the Hurrians, although no Akkadian prototype has yet been found. Second, there is the story of the hunter Keshshi, of which there are fragments of a Hittite and a Hurrian version, while an Akkadian version formed part of the reading material of the scribal school at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. Third, the story of Appu and his two sons, Evil and Good, and fourth, a myth about the Sun-god and a cow, in which the

cow bears a human child that is later found by a fisherman (possibly these two fragments belong to the same story as indicated by the end of the Appu text, where a cow is introduced and the Sun-god makes a prediction concerning it). Fifth, there is the myth about the serpent Hedammu, a voracious monster that is checked by the goddess Ishtar's womanly charms.²¹

Of Canaanite or Syrian myths we have Hittite versions of two: one deals with the god Elkunirsa and his wife Ashertu, that is, *El qônê ereş* "El the Creator of the Earth" and Asherah.²² Of the existing fragments, one tells that a god whose name is written with the word-sign for the Storm-god but who must in this context be Ba'al-Hadad, visits his father Elkunirsa while the latter is camping out near the Euphrates; he tells his father that when he came to his house, Asherah made him advances which he refused. El advises him to go back and threaten her. In the second fragment a goddess called Ishtar, which again stands for the West-Semitic Astarte or 'Anat, in the guise of a bird overhears a bedroom conversation of El and Asherah and tells it to her brother, the Storm-god (Hadad).

The other Syrian myth in Hittite deals with an adventure of Mount Pishaisha. This mountain must be in Syria since it is mentioned in treaties among the deities listed as witnesses together with the equally deified mountains Lebanon and Hermos. In our epic fragment Mount Pishaisha rapes the goddess Ishtar, is threatened with punishment by her, and asks for mercy.²³

The best preserved and, by their contents, most interesting Hittite epics reflecting Hurrian myths, however, are those dealing with Kumarbi, "the Father of the Gods." So far we have two, or perhaps three, such compositions. Of the first, the original title is lost; since its main theme is the sequence of gods who were kings in heaven, it has been called "The Kingship in Heaven."²⁴ The first part of this epic is preserved in a badly mutilated single copy; of other copies we only have one small fragment and possibly a second. The text begins with a proem:

[Let and] who are primeval deities hearken,
let [. . . . and . . .], the mighty gods, hearken!

Let Na[ra Napshara, Mink]i Ammunki hearken,
let Ammezzaddu [and], father and mother, hearken!

Let [. . . .] and Ishkhara, father and mother, hearken,
let Enlil [and Ninlil], who are exceedingly mighty, ever-
lasting deities, hearken,

let [. . . .] and [. .]ulkulimma hearken!

The story itself follows immediately:

Formerly, in former years, Alalu was king in Heaven.
Alalu was sitting on the throne,
and mighty Anu, the first of the gods, stood before him.
He bowed down to his feet
and put the drinking cups into his hand.

For nine "counted" years Alalu was king in Heaven.
In the ninth year Anu gave battle against Alalu.
He defeated Alalu,
and he (Alalu) fled before him
and he went down to the Dark Earth.
Down to the Dark Earth he went,
but on the throne Anu sat.

Anu was sitting on his throne,
and mighty Kumarbi gave him to drink:
He bowed down to his feet
and put the drinking cups into his hand.

For nine "counted" years Anu was king in Heaven.
In the ninth year Anu had to give battle against Kumarbi:
Kumarbi, Alalu's offspring, gave battle against Anu.
Anu no longer withstood Kumarbi's eyes;
he slipped out of his hands and fled, Anu (did),
and went up to the sky.

After him Kumarbi rushed
and seized him, Anu, by his feet
and pulled him down from the sky.

He bit his loins
(so that) his manhood united with Kumarbi's interior like
bronze (i.e., as copper and tin unite to form bronze).

*When it united,
when Kumarbi swallowed Anu's manhood,
he rejoiced and laughed.*

*Anu turned back
and to Kumarbi he began to speak:
"Thou rejoicest about thine interior
because thou hast swallowed my manhood!*

*"Do not rejoice about thine interior!
Into thine interior I have put a (heavy) load:
First I have made thee pregnant with the weighty Storm-
god;
second I have made thee pregnant with the river Aranzakh
(Tigris), the irresistible;
third I have made thee pregnant with the weighty god Tash-
mishu,
and two (other) terrible gods have I put as load into thine
interior.*

*Thou shalt come to stop hitting the rocks of Mount Tassa
with thy head!"*

*When Anu had finished speaking
he went up to the sky.*

*But (Kumarbi) hid himself
and spat out of his mouth, he, [Kumarbi,] the wise king.
Out of his mouth he spat spittle [and the manhood] mixed to-
gether.*

*What Kumarbi had sp[at] out,
Mount Kanzura fear.*

*Kumarbi went in rage into Nip[pur, his town].
. he sat down.*

*Kumarbi did not [.] count [the months].
The ninth month came, (rest of column lost).*

Counting months is a common motif introducing childbirth. In the second column of the tablet, where the surface is so rubbed off that a satisfactory text cannot be established, childbirth is indeed the theme, although it is of unusual nature. It seems that here several deities who are in Kumarbi's "interior" discuss with him through what opening of his body

they should make their appearance. Two of the deities mentioned here are not among the three named by Anu: one is Marduk (the god of Babylon, here represented by a rare Sumerian name), the other's name is written with the word sign KA.ZAL, meaning "lust." These may be the "two terrible gods" mentioned without name by Anu. Only the last child is one of those announced by name: the Storm-god. Although the name of this god is here, as elsewhere, always written with a word sign, we may safely call the god by his Hurrian name, Teshub, in this Hurrian myth.

The third column is badly damaged, too, so that here again a coherent text cannot be established. Following a suggestion made, we may insert in the gap between columns ii and iii another fragment (which would be the third copy alluded to above).²⁵ In it "the king of Kummiya," who can only be Teshub (as we shall see from the Ullikummi Epic), addresses Anu; he reminds him of the fact that "[Kumarbi,] the Father of Gods, though a male, has given birth" to him; he also mentions several hard tasks that his father gave him (not otherwise known) and lists the divine powers with which he was endowed (a passage similar to a listing of the powers given Marduk in the second column). Following the same scholar's suggestion we assume that, where the third column of the main copy sets in with half-preserved lines, Teshub asks Anu to kill Kumarbi.²⁶ In his reply Anu seems to dissuade Teshub from his plan of killing Kumarbi and speaks of the kingship in terms that are too fragmentary for full understanding. The suggestion that Anu proposes to make Ea king²⁷ seems to agree with what can be gathered from the following sections. After Anu's long speech one may restore (column iii lines 19-22):

*When Teshub [heard these (Anu's?) words],
[they] became loathsome to his heart,
[and in anger] he spoke to the bull Sheri:
"[.] are coming against [me] for battle!
."*

Sheri is one of Teshub's sacred bulls. Several gods are mentioned in the fragmentary continuation; that Teshub pronounced a curse over them can be gathered from the reply (lines 31-32):

*The bull Sheri re[plied] to Teshub:
"My lord! Why didst thou curse them?"*

Again the rest of the speech is beyond repair. After a gap the curse is still being referred to. This time it is Ea of whom we read (lines 67-72):

*When Ea had [hear]d those words
they became loathsome to his heart.
Ea began to reply these words to (the god) . . . -ura:
"Do not pronounce curses against me!
He who cursed me,
[why] does he curse me?
Now thou who [tellest me these words] again,
thou art (thereby) cursing me.
A dish [that] with beer,
that dish will break to pieces!"*

There follows another gap, after which there is childbirth again. This time it is Earth who gives birth to two children. Unfortunately we can tell neither who these children are nor who begot them. The logic of the story would require that we should hear what happened to the part of the seed that Kumarbi spat out, and Earth would be a good candidate for the one who received and bore it. In a fragment which partly restores the fourth column, however, mention is made of a "wagon," and a word that may be restored as "manhood" once follows "wagon" in an otherwise broken line. It has been suggested on these grounds that the children grew out of Wagon's seed and that with "the wagon" the constellation of the Great Wagon (or Great Dipper) is meant. To complicate things further, it is Ea who counts the months and to whom the news of the happy event is brought. Thus, the question of who is the father must be left open. Mention of a throne and the title king occurring in broken context in

the vicinity of the name Ea might indicate that at this point it is indeed Ea who is king among the gods, which would agree with the tentative interpretation of the third column given above. It has to be stressed, however, that the present state of preservation of the tablet renders all these interpretations highly hypothetical. Shortly after the birth of Earth's two children the tablet ends.

Summing up the contents of this epic composition, we find that in its first part it tells how the celestial kingship passed from Alalu to Anu and from Anu to Kumarbi. Of these gods, Anu is, of course, the well-known Babylonian god whose name is Sumerian An "Sky"; a god called Alala is at least attested in a Babylonian list of gods as one of Anu's ancestors. That we are dealing with generations is stated in our text where Kumarbi is called Alalu's offspring. The name Kumarbi is Hurrian; Kumarbi is sometimes equated with the Sumerian Enlil, though—as we shall see—not consistently. The fact that in our text Kumarbi goes to Nippur seems to indicate that its author made that identification, since the Babylonian town of Nippur is well known as the cult city of Enlil. The parallels that exist between this story and both Hesiod's *Theogony* and the Phoenician mythology as related by Philo Byblius have often been discussed; a few remarks may therefore suffice here.

In Hesiod the sequence is Ouranos ("Sky")—Kronos—Zeus; the fight between Ouranos and Kronos includes the motif of castration as does the fight between Anu and Kumarbi in the Hittite text. There is in Hesiod no generation corresponding to Alalu. Philo Byblius, however, in the outline of Phoenician mythology which he ascribes to a certain Sankhuniaton, has that generation. Here the sequence is:

1. Phoenician Elioun, Greek Hypsistos "The Highest," corresponding to Alalu;
2. Greek Ouranos "Sky," Phoenician name not given, corresponding to Anu;
3. Phoenician El, Greek Kronos, corresponding to Kumarbi;

4. elsewhere Ba'al-Hadad is mentioned as the chief god, corresponding to Teshub and Zeus.

The fact that Philo knew of the first generation omitted by Hesiod is a point in favor of the authenticity of his account; similarly, the discovery of Ugaritic literature has shown that a complex mythology indeed existed in Syria some fifteen centuries before Philo.

What exactly followed Kumarbi's victory over Anu and his pregnancy incurred in this fight is not clear because of the deplorable state of the text. Teshub is born, somehow. That he became king in Heaven at some point of the story may safely be assumed because of his role as supreme god in the actual cult of both Hurrians and Hittites; but at what point of the story this happened we do not know. Nor is Ea's role too clear (Ea, the wise god, is a figure familiar from Sumero-Babylonian religion, too). We found some indications that he may have been made king (after Kumarbi?), but the bad state of the text does not allow for a definite statement. In another text, to which we shall presently turn, Ea rather is the one who appoints and deposes celestial rulers. This text²⁸ deals with the temporary rule of a deity whose name is written with the word sign KAL, which, unfortunately, is ambiguous. Neither the reading Sumerian *lama*, Akkadian *lamassu* "protective deity," nor the reading Inara—the name of an Anatolian goddess whom we met in the Dragon Fight Myth—fits the context which seems to deal with a rather unruly male god. So we shall simply use the form KAL instead of the unknown real name of the god. As far as the sequence of events is concerned, it would seem that KAL's rule interrupted that of Teshub, since it seems that KAL takes the rule from him at the beginning but has to recognize him as his master in the end.

The beginning of the text is lost and its first column badly mutilated. At one point one may restore (column i, lines 18-26):

KAL [.] and to[ok] the reins and [the whip]
out of the Storm-god's hand.

*The [Storm]-god turned back and [to KAL] began to speak:
 "[My] re[ins and whip] thou hast taken from my hand
 and [taken them into thine own] hand.
 Those reins [are]!
 Thou wilt be called to the house,
 and the reins [.]".*

There follow a few lines so fragmentary that they are beyond repair, and then a lacuna of some thirty to forty lines. In it, it may have been told that Ea appointed KAL to be king, if the following restoration is correct (ii 1-9):

*[When] KAL [heard] Ea's words,
 he [.]
 [and] began to [rejoi]ce.
 [.] he ate and drank,
 [. u]p to Heaven he went,
 up to Heaven [.] he [. . . .]ed.
 [In the years that] KAL [was king] in Heaven,
 in those years [.].*

Whether the following lines contained the description of a time of disorder and distress or rather, as has been proposed, of blessing, is uncertain because of their fragmentary state. After another gap and some broken lines at the beginning of the third column we read (iii 5-44):

*KAL began to [reply] to :
 "[.] I determinel
 These gods [grew] big,
 [they] and they arose,
 (but) I [do not fear] them at all;
 I shall not [put] bread into their mouths!
 The road they are to go
 and the road they are to come,
 those I, KAL, king of Heaven, determine for the gods!"*
*The impetuous winds brought the n[ews] (variant:
 KAL's evil words) to Ea (while he was) on his way.
 (Variant adds: When Ea heard KAL's [words],
 his [mind became angry].)*

Ea began to speak to Kumarbi:

"Come! Let us go back!

This KAL whom we made king in Heaven,

just as he himself is rebellious,

so he made the countries rebellious,

*and no one any longer gives bread or drink offerings to the
gods!"*

Ea and Kumarbi turned [their faces]:

Ea [went] to Abzuwa,

but Kumarbi went away to Du[. . .].

Ea made a messenger stand up in front [of himself]

and undertook to dispatch him to KAL (saying):

"Go, speak these words to [KAL]:

'Ever since we made thee king in Heaven

[thou] hast not done anything!

*Never hast thou called [an assembly]'"] (end of
speech fragmentary).*

The messenger departed

and recounted [Ea's words to KAL] exactly.

When [KAL] had heard [Ea's words],

he began to [.].

Ea began to speak to Izzummi[, his vizier]:

"Go down to the Dark Earth,

and the words that I speak to thee,

go and tell them to Nara Napshara, my brother (saying):

'Take my speech and hearken to my words!

[KAL] has made me angry,

so I deposited him from the kingship in Heaven.

"That KAL whom we made king in Heaven,

just as he himself is rebellious,

so he made the countries rebellious,

*and no one any longer gives bread or drink offerings to the
gods.*

Now, Nara, my brother, hear me!

And mobilize all the animals of the earth!

Mount Nasalma [.],

and unto his head [. !'"] (broken).

A small further fragment²⁹ seems to tell that Nara fulfilled Ea's wish. After another gap, someone (Ea?) gives orders on how to treat KAL, and the Storm-god and his vizier Ninurta carry that order out. It seems to consist of some bodily punishment involving mutilation. After it KAL speaks to the Storm-god, addressing him as "my lord" but apparently reminding him of the fact that he himself had been made king. The Storm-god gives a short reply most of which again is lost. There the tablet ends, and its colophon (the entry giving tablet number and title, always written at the end of a tablet) is broken in such a way that we learn neither the title of the work, nor whether this tablet forms part of the same epic as the one outlined before, nor whether the story continued.

The second (or, if the KAL text is a separate work, third) epic of the Kumarbi cycle is called "The Song of Ullikummi." Although it is a separate literary work its contents can be connected with the theme of the celestial kingship: Kumarbi tries to replace Teshub as king by the stone monster Ullikummi which he begets for this purpose.³⁰

This epic also begins with a proem; its beginning is damaged, the fourth line reads:

Of Kumarbi, father of all gods, I shall sing.

There follows the beginning of the story:

*Kumarbi takes wisdom unto his mind
and a bad "day" as evil (being) he raises.
Against Teshub he plans evil,
and against Teshub he raises a rival.*

*Kumarbi [takes] wisdom unto his mind
and sticks it on like a bead.*

*When Kumarbi had taken wisdom unto his mind,
he promptly rose from his chair.
Into his hand he took a staff,
upon his feet he put the swift winds as shoes.
He set out from his town Urkish
and came to (a place called) Cool Pond.*

*At Cool Pond a great Rock is lying:
Its length is three leagues,
but its width which it has below is [one] and a half leagues.
His (Kumarbi's) mind sprang forward,
he slept with the Rock,
and his manhood [flowed] into it.
Five times he took it,
[and again] ten times he took it.*

Urkish, Kumarbi's home town, was in north Mesopotamia, the heartland of the Hurrians. After a gap there follows a passage in which Kumarbi is invited by the Sea; he follows the invitation and, after seven drinks, dispatches his vizier Mukishanu to the Waters with a message, the contents of which are lost. What this episode means in the story can only be guessed: presumably the two gods, Kumarbi and the Sea, agree that Kumarbi's future child should grow up in the sea. After another gap we read that the Rock bore a child:

*[The midwives] brought him to birth,
and the Fate-goddesses and [Mother-goddesses lifted the
child]
and placed him on Kumarbi's knees.
Kumarbi began to rejoice over his son,
he began to fondle him
and began to give him his dear name.*

*Kumarbi began to speak to his own mind:
"What name shall I put on him,
on the son whom the Fate-goddesses and Mother-goddesses
gave me?"
Out of the body he sprang like a blade.
Let him go! Ullikummi be his name!
Let him go up to Heaven,
let him suppress Kummiya, the dear town!
Let him hit Teshub
and pound him like chaff
and crush him with his foot like an ant!*

*Let him break Tashmishu like a dry reed!
Let him scatter the gods down from Heaven like birds
and smash them like empty dishes!"*

(Note the obvious etymological connection made here between the name given the child, Ulli-kummi, and the task given him, to destroy Kummiya, the city of Teshub. The following speech deals with the problem of letting the child grow up unnoticed.)

*When Kumarbi had completed these words
he began (again) to speak to his own mind:
"To whom shall I give this son?
Who will [take] him and treat him as a gift?
[Who will]
and [carry] him to the [Dark] Earth?
Let the Sun-god of Heaven [and the Moon-god] not see him!
Let Teshub, the brave king of Kummiya, not see him
and let him not kill him!
Let Ishtar, the queen of Nineveh, not see him
and let her not break him like a dry reed!"*

*Kumarbi began to speak to Impaluri:
"O Impaluri! The words which I speak to thee,
to my words lend thine ear!
Take a staff into thy hands,
put the swift winds as shoes upon thy feet!
Go to the Irshirra gods
and speak these strong words to the Irshirras:
'Come! Kumarbi, father of gods, calls you to his house!
The matter about which he calls you
[.].
Now come promptly!"*

*["Then the Irshirra]s will take the child,
and they [will carry] him to the [Dark] Earth.
The Irshirras [will],
but to the great [gods] he will not [be visible]."*

*[When] Impaluri [heard these words],
he took a staff into his hand . . . (etc.).*

In true epic style the fulfillment of Kumarbi's command is then told with identical words. The story continues:

*When the Irshirras heard these words,
they [hurried], hastened.
[They rose from their seats]
and covered the way at once
and came to Kumarbi.
And Kumarbi began to speak to the Irshirras:
"Take [this child],
treat him as a gift
and carry him to the Dark Earth!
Hurry, hasten!
Put him on Ubelluri's right shoulder like a blade!
In one day he shall grow a yard,
but in one month he shall grow a furlong!
....."*

The Irshirras take the child, but first bring him to Enlil (who is here taken as different from Kumarbi). Enlil sees that the child's body is made of stone and immediately understands the situation. He says:

*"Of no one but of Kumarbi is this an evil plan!
Just as Kumarbi raised Teshub
so now he has raised this Stone as a rival against him."*

Only after this interlude do the Irshirras put the child on the shoulder of Ubelluri, who, as we learn later in the epic, is a giant who carries Heaven and Earth, including the sea (thus comparable to the Greek Atlas). There the stone child grows up as fast as ordered. He grows in the sea, which only comes to his waist, while his head reaches the sky. The first among the gods to see him is the Sun-god, who decides to break the news to Teshub.

*When he saw the Sun-god coming
Tashmishu began [to speak to (his brother) Teshub]:
"Why does he come, the Sun-god of Heaven, the [king of]
the lands?"*

*The matter about which he comes,
that matter is [grave],
it is [not] to be cast aside!
Strong is it, the struggle,
strong is it, the battle!
Heaven's uproar it is,
the land's hunger and thirst it is!"*

*Teshub began to speak to Tashmishu:
"Let them set up a chair for him to sit,
let them lay a table for him to eat!"*

*While thus they were speaking
the Sun-god arrived at their [house].
They set up a chair for him to sit,
but he did not sit down;
they laid a table for him to eat,
but he did not reach out;
they gave him a cup,
but he did not put his lips to it.*

*Teshub began to speak to the Sun-god:
"Is the chamberlain bad who set up the chair
so that thou sattest not down?
Is the steward bad who laid the table
so that thou atest not?
Is the cupbearer bad who gave thee the cup
so that thou drankest not?"*

Here the first tablet ends. At the lost beginning of the second the Sun-god must have told Teshub and Tashmishu of the stone monster he had seen growing in the sea. Where the text becomes intelligible, the Sun-god finally is persuaded to take the food and drink offered him, and after the meal he returns to Heaven. After his departure the two brothers, Teshub and Tashmishu, decide to go and look for themselves; they are joined by their sister, Ishtar (Shaushga in Hurrian), who sees them leaving. All three ascend Mount Hazzi, a mountain on the shore of northern Syria known from Classical times as Casius and from Semitic sources as Zaphon.

*They took one another by the hand
and went up to Mount Hazzi.*

*The king of Kummiya set his face,
he set his face upon the dreadful Stone.*

*He saw the dreadful Stone,
and from anger his [mind] was altered.*

*Teshub sat on the ground,
and his tears flowed forth like streams.*

Teshub in tears spoke the word:

"Who will any longer endure this one's violence?

Who will any longer fight?

Who will any longer endure this one's fearfulness?"

Ishtar replied to Teshub:

"O my brother! He does not know or ,

but bravery has been tenfold given him!

."

The continuation of Ishtar's speech is first fragmentary, then lost. Probably she tries to console and encourage her brother. After the gap we find her by the seashore, adorning herself and singing. She is told, however, (by a personified Wave?) that this is of no avail:

"In front of whom singest thou?

In front of whom fillest thou thy mouth with [songs]?"

The man is deaf and hears not,

in his eyes he is blind and sees not!

And mercy he has not!

Go away, o Ishtar, and find thy brother

before the Stone becomes brave,

before the skull of his head becomes overwhelming!"

Ishtar takes the advice, throws away her ornaments and her musical instrument, and leaves, lamenting. After another gap we find Teshub giving Tashmishu orders for the preparation of battle. His war chariot and the two sacred bulls that are to pull it are to be readied. Furthermore,

*"Let them call forth the thunderstorms,
let them call forth the rains and winds
..... !*

*The lightning which strongly flashes,
out of the bedchamber let them bring it!
And let them bring forth the chariots!
Now arrange, set them,
and word bring me back!"*

The order is carried out; part of the preparations are lost at the end of the second tablet, as well as the beginning of the great battle in the following tablet. Obviously the "seventy gods" who participate in it on Teshub's side are unsuccessful against the Stone, who even overshadows Kum-miya, Teshub's own town, where Hebat, his wife, is worrying about her husband's fate. A maidservant sent out by her returns without news. After another gap it is Tashmishu who, from the top of a tower, tells Hebat, who is on her roof, that her husband will have to give up his rule "until the years that have been decreed for him will be fulfilled."

*When Hebat saw Tashmishu
she almost fell from the roof.
Had she taken a step,
she would have fallen from the roof,
but the palace women held her and let her not go.*

Tashmishu then returns to Teshub and advises him to seek the help of the wise Ea. The two brothers go to Ea's abode where they approach him with great reverence. The passage in which they actually ask him for help is again lost, and so is Ea's reply to them. After the gap Ea goes to Enlil first and then to Ubelluri. He asks both whether they know of the stone monster created as a rival to Teshub. Enlil's reply is lost; the discourse with Ubelluri runs as follows:

*Ea began to speak to Ubelluri:
"Knowest thou not, O Ubelluri?
Has no one brought thee word?"*

*Knowest thou him not,
the swift god whom Kumarbi fashioned against the gods?
And that Kumarbi truly plans death for Teshub
and fashions a rival against him?*

.....

*Is it because thou art remote from the Dark Earth
that thou knowest not this swift god?"*

Ubelluri began to reply to Ea:

*"When Heaven and Earth were built on me
I knew nothing.*

*But when it came to pass that Heaven and Earth were cut
apart with a 'cutter,'*

this, too, I knew not.

*Now something makes my right shoulder hurt,
but I know not who he is, that god!"*

*When Ea heard these words,
he turned Ubelluri's right shoulder:
there the Stone was standing on Ubelluri's right shoulder
like a blade!*

Ea then orders the Former Gods to produce the very tool with which once Heaven and Earth had been separated; now he will use it to separate the Stone from Ubelluri, on whom he has grown. This is obviously meant to break the Stone's power; for, after another gap, we find Ea telling Tashmishu:

*"First I struck him, the Stone;
now go ye and fight him again!"*

Delighted by this news, Tashmishu breaks it to the gods. Teshub mounts his chariot again, rides down to the sea with thunder, and engages in a fresh fight with the Stone. There follows an almost Homeric dialogue between the two adversaries, in which Ullikummi boasts of the role his father Kumarbi has assigned him. Thereafter the text is altogether lost, but we can safely assume that the outcome of this second battle was the final victory of Teshub. Such "happy end" is not only expected on the analogy of the Anatolian Dragon Fight story discussed above and of the Greek myth

to be mentioned presently, but is required by the fact that in actual religion Teshub was the supreme god, so that the myth must have shown him victorious in the end.

The Greek parallel just alluded to is the story of Typhon. This monster arises as a new adversary to Zeus at the point of Hesiod's *Theogony* where Zeus has just gained power by his victory over Kronos and the other Titans. Later Greek tradition preserved details that fit our Hurro-Hittite myth even more closely. Thus one source says that Typhon grew out of an egg impregnated with the seed of Kronos. Other authors describe the first, unsuccessful battle as taking place at Mount Casius, that is, our Hazzi. Typhon himself was believed to have his home in Cilicia, and in an unpublished cuneiform text a mountain called Ullikummi is listed among the mountains of Kizzuwatna, that is, Cilicia.

Thus far the myths, to the extent that they can be understood or reconstructed. As said before, there are others, mostly in a bad state of preservation, and there probably were still others entirely unknown to us. From the foregoing excerpts the difference between Anatolian and foreign myths will have become clear. The Kumarbi cycle is a work of literature. Whether the existing Hittite version is a translation of a Hurrian original (as suggested in the past) or whether it is the creation of an author or authors who only drew their subject matter from Hurrian tradition but freely wrote the epic in Hittite, the literary language of the Empire, will remain an open question as long as we do not know more about a Hurrian version. The Hittite epics before us are not only written in a literary, truly epic, style; also their contents, the mythological concepts they represent, are very sophisticated. The question of whether these epics are translations or free adaptations thus becomes secondary: what matters is the fact that they reflect a very complex mythology whose elements can be traced back through the Hurrians to Babylonia. Not only such names as Alalu, Anu, and Ea with his vizier Izzummi (Akkadian Usmu) are Babylonian, but also the basic concept of generations of gods who succes-

sively ruled the universe goes back to Babylonia. Thus this Hurro-Hittite epic literature and the mythology contained in it are heirs to a long-established West-Asiatic mythological literature. The ties with the West-Semitic world, Phoenicia and Ugarit, are less obvious. Sankhuniaton as quoted by Philo Byblius only seems to reflect the same Hurrian mythology that underlies the Kumarbi epics; nevertheless it is interesting that in later times this mythology was simply considered Phoenician. The Canaanite myths preserved in Hittite, in turn, that is, the stories about Asherah and Mount Pishaisha, are too fragmentary to allow for detailed comparison. Yet it seems, even from these small fragments, that the tenor of these tales is very similar indeed to that of Ugaritic literature, although the particular stories have no counterpart there except for an allusion in the Pishaisha text to a victory of the Storm-god over the Sea, which may mean the victory of Ba'al over Yam "Sea" in the Ugaritic Ba'al cycle.³¹ If we are permitted for a moment to look at Sankhuniaton, the fragmentary Hittite versions of Syrian myths, and the Ugaritic epics as one group, we may say that in complexity and sophistication it equals the myths of Hurro-Mesopotamian background.

In contrast, the Anatolian myths discussed in the first part of this survey seem to be much simpler. Although the Anatolian deities also form families, there is here no succession of rulers, nor do these myths contain Babylonian elements (the word signs used to write names of gods should not mislead us). It is true that the Storm-god who, as provider of rain, was the supreme god all over West Asia outside Babylonia proper, is the central figure in both the Anatolian and the Hurrian and Syrian myths. But the stories told about him show a marked difference: whereas in the Kumarbi cycle Teshub is the last king in a divine dynasty going back to the Sumerian Alalu, and whereas his struggle with the stone monster is a world-shaking battle involving all the gods, the Anatolian Storm-god is simply the great god of the land whose well-being and well-meaning are badly needed. If he goes into hiding because someone aroused his anger, he has to be

propitiated. To tell, at the yearly festival, the story of how he ultimately overcame the Dragon is a means to secure the much-needed rain for the land. If a local Storm-god has left his cult city he can be brought back by a prayer containing the story of the river Marassanta that was especially made to flow nearby and charged with watching over him. It thus seems that these Anatolian stories are very close indeed to what is commonly called nature myths, although, perhaps, already one step removed from an hypothetical original form of such myths. We saw that the myth of the Vanished God is no longer connected with a seasonal ritual; and for the Dragon Fight story, which does belong to a seasonal festival, I doubt that the listeners "knew" that the Dragon "meant" drought: for them it was enough to hear that the Storm-god finally defeated his enemy. Yet the connection with seasonal phenomena is apparent.

Also the plots of the Anatolian myths are simpler than those of the foreign ones. To overcome the Dragon, simple ruses are used. None of the gods, not even the sharp-eyed Eagle, can find the Vanished God, but the Bee, dispatched by the Mother-goddess, finds him; to overcome his increased fury magic is needed. Family relations follow an all too human pattern. In the Telipinu version of the Vanished God myth, it is the Storm-god, Telipinu's father, who is concerned about his son's disappearance but unable to bring him back; old grandmother Hannahanna rudely tells him "do something!" but she herself has to take over by sending out the Bee. In the Storm-god version translated above the episode is added in which the Father first turns to the Grandfather for counsel, only to be reprimanded that it is all his own fault; here again it is Hannahanna who finds the solution after having reassured him.

I hope that in pointing out these differences we have done no more than bring into focus what seems obvious when the Anatolian and foreign myths are read. In doing this we have tried to bring out the fact that not all that is written in Hittite is just one "Hittite mythology" but that it is necessary to distinguish between genuine Anatolian myths and those of the

Hurrian-Mesopotamian-Syrian realm. That such different elements were brought together in the Empire and that the scribes of Hattusa included such diverse material in their writings only serves to illustrate the complexity of Hittite civilization. When the Hurrian or Kizzuwatnean element in the royal house and in the scribal schools imported Hurrian myths, the Anatolian tradition continued beside it; and whatever the ethnic background of the individual stories, they were written in the literary language in which the unifying power of the Hittite Empire manifested itself.

NOTES

For a general survey of Hittite history and civilization the reader is referred to:

O. R. Gurney. *The Hittites* (Pelican Book, A 259. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1952; 2nd ed. 1954).

Translations of Hittite texts by A. Goetze are found in:

J. B. Pritchard, ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: University Press, 1950; 2nd ed. 1955), which will be quoted in the notes as *ANET*.

E. Laroche published a "Catalogue des Textes Hittites" in *Revue Hittite et Asianique* XIV (1956) 33-38; 69-116; XV (1957) 30-89; XVI (1958) 18-64, quoted hereafter as *Cat.* (with number). It contains references to the original publications of cuneiform texts and to translations and discussions. For the scholar, reference to *Cat.* will be sufficient in most cases; only a few texts are quoted below by the cuneiform edition, for which the following abbreviation is used:

KUB: Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Berlin, 1921-).

Other abbreviations used in the notes are:

RHA: Revue Hittite et Asianique.

ZA: Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.

Kum.: see note 21.

MGK: see note 24.

1. *ANET* p. 120.
2. For a sound warning against an easy application of the cliché of the "dying god" see the posthumous publication of a lecture by Henri Frankfort, "The Dying God," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXI (London, 1958) 141-51.
3. For this character of Telipinu see H. G. Güterbock, "Gedanken über das Wesen des Gottes Telipinu," *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich . . . gewidmet* (Heidelberg, 1959) 207-11.
4. Text: *Cat.* 261. For the distinction of the various versions of the myth see H. Otten, *Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 46, 1, Leipzig, 1942); the Telipinu version used here for partial restoration is *Cat.* 258, translated in *ANET* pp. 126-28.
5. Otten, *op. cit.* pp. 55-56; *Cat.* 262, 1: *KUB XXXIII* 15.
6. Otten, *op. cit.* pp. 47-48; *Cat.* 262, 6: *KUB XXXIII* 33.
7. The ritual part of the Telipinu version is in *ANET* pp. 127-28.
8. The so-called Yuzgat Tablet with parallels listed *Cat.* 263; for a partial translation see Gurney, *The Hittites*, pp. 187-88.
9. *KUB XXXIII* 36 and 67, *Cat.* 264, 6, and 346, 2.
10. *Cat.* 267, 1 and 2; cf. *ibid.*, 6 and perhaps 3-5.
11. *Cat.* 342, 2-5.
12. *Cat.* 265, 5-9 and 16.
13. *Cat.* 332.
14. *Cat.* 308, *ANET* pp. 357-58; for the translation given here see H. G. Güterbock in *RHA* XIV/58 (1956) 22-23.
15. *Cat.* 438; A. Kammenhuber, "Das Palaische," *RHA* XVII/64 (1959) 1-92, section "Mythisches Fragment," pp. 40-63.

16. Cf. Kammenhuber, *loc. cit.*, p. 55 for contents, p. 91 for Zapparwa.
17. KUB XXXV 107-8, *Cat.* 452, 2; H. Otten, *Luvische Texte in Umschrift* (Berlin, 1953) pp. 97-99; P. Meriggi, "Zum Luvischen," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 53 (1957) 193-226; the myth on pp. 209-18; E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite* (Paris, 1959) pp. 158-62.
18. *Cat.* 257; *ANET* pp. 125-26.
19. KUB XXXVI 89, *Cat.* 553, partly paralleled by KUB XXXVI 88, *Cat.* 290, 4.
20. *Cat.* 227-30. H. Otten, "Die erste Tafel des hethitischen Gilgamesch-Epos," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 8 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul, 1958) 93-125, gave a translation of the first tablet including recently found fragments and showed where the Hittite version differs from the Akkadian (for which see E. A. Speiser's translation, *ANET* pp. 72-99). For the rest of the Hittite version cf. J. Friedrich, "Die hethitischen Bruchstücke des Gilgameš-Epos," *ZA* 39 (Neue Folge 5, 1930) pp. 1-82.
21. *Cat.* 232-37. An outline of these stories was given by H. G. Güterbock in an appendix to his *Kumarbi: Mythen vom churritischen Kronos* (Istanbuler Mitteilungen 16, Zürich-New York, 1946) pp. 116-22; full translations were published by J. Friedrich, "Churritische Märchen und Sagen in hethitischer Sprache," *ZA* 49 (N.F.15, 1950) 213-55 (Appu, Cow, Keshshi) and "Der churritische Mythos vom Schlangendämon Hedammu in hethitischer Sprache," *Archiv Orientalní* XVII/1 (Prague, 1949) 230-54.
22. *Cat.* 231; H. Otten, "Ein kanaanäischer Mythos aus Boğazköy," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* I (Berlin, 1953) 125-50; the same, "Kanaanäische Mythen aus Hattusa-Boğazköy," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 85 (1953) 27-38; previously F. Hrozný, article "Hittites" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. 11, p. 607 of the 1956 edition).

23. *Cat.* 246; *Kum.* p. 122; J. Friedrich, "Zu einigen altkleinasiatischen Gottheiten," *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung* II (1952) 144-53, esp. pp. 147-50; Otten, in the article quoted last in note 22, pp. 35-36.
24. *Cat.* 238 (and possibly 244, see next note). First made known by E. O. Forrer in 1936. Translations: *Kum.*, Texts 1 a and b, pp. 6-10; Güterbock, "The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod," *American Journal of Archaeology* 52 (1948) 123-34, esp. pp. 124-25; H. Otten, *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi* (MGK) (Berlin, 1950) pp. 5-9; ANET pp. 121-22; P. Meriggi, "I miti di Kumarpi, il Kronos Currico," *Athenaeum* N. S. 31 (Pavia, 1953) 101-57, esp. pp. 110-29.
25. See Meriggi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 128-31, for the likely suggestion that KUB XXXIII 105 (*Cat.* 244; *Kum.* Text 1 b) belongs here.
26. Meriggi, *ibid.*, p. 123 to line 2 (p. 125).
27. *Ibid.*, p. 125 with n. 58 to lines 15-16.
28. *Cat.* 241 (and 251, see next note). *Kum.*, Text 1 c; Otten, MGK pp. 9-13; Meriggi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 133-47.
29. KUB XXXVI 3 (MGK No. 3), cf. Otten, MGK p. 12 n. 4; Meriggi, *loc. cit.*, p. 145; contrast *Cat.* 251.
30. *Cat.* 239; *Kum.*, Text 2, pp. 13-28; MGK pp. 13-25; ANET pp. 121-25; H. G. Güterbock, *The Song of Ulikummi* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1952); reprinted from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* V (1951) 135-61; VI (1952) 8-42.
31. *Kum.*, p. 122; cf. the Ugaritic epic translated by H. L. Ginsberg, ANET p. 131.